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KISONGO.	1. Kisongo	2. Sigirari	5. Salei or Saleh
	a. Kiteto	3. Laitokitok	6. Laitayok
	b. Moiba	4. Siria	
LUMBWA.	1. Nguruman	2. Serenget	3. Engaruka

The villages, *eng ang*, pl. *ing angite*, is the minimal territorial unit. Villages are distributed within the minor sections. JOHNSTON,[15] had already noted that "they generally range within certain districts". A village is the residence of one or more elders with his or their wives and cattle. A man after his marriage does not live in the same village as his father, unless the latter has become senile and unable to cater for himself.

The internal structure of the village is based on the gatesystem. This consists in a proper arrangement of the house on the sides of the village's gates. The village consists of a large yard enclosed by a thorny fence with gates opening at opposite sides. The house are built on the right and left sides of each gate, every gate with its houses belonging to a single elder. The usual arrangement is as follows: the first house on the gate's right is the dwelling of the owner's first wife; the first house on the left side is that of his second wife; the second house on the right side is that of his third wife; and the same alternating order is followed if marries more wives. The central yard is reserved for cattle. The elder's cattle are allotted to each of his wives according to her rank in the house. Cattle in possession of one side of the gate cannot be inherited by the other side. When inheritance takes place it is with great care that one tries to avoid cattle interchange.[16] The gate system, observes FOSBROOKE,[17] is an ideal, and "a symmetrically arranged gate is seldom found in practice". When people move in search of better grassland, the village is not destroyed, but simply evacuated. During the owner's absence the houses may be occupied by other temporary tenants. At the reverse migration the owner comes back to his old village if this is not irreparably decayed, and it is agreed by custom that any foreigner who might have found shelter in the house must vacate the place to the original owner.

Another type of Masai village should be mentioned here. It is

[15] JOHNSTON, *The Uganda Protectorate*, London 1904, p. 810.
[16] See especially MERKER, *l. c.*, pp. 27 s.
[17] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 44.

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the temporary residence of unmarried initiates or "warriors", called *ol manyatta*, pl. *i manyat*. According to MERKER, [19] "in every section there is at least one warrior's village which gathers all the warriors of the section". This type of village is closely related to the age-system institution. Therefore it is not a distinct territorial unit, though it shows the inter-relationship of the age-system and territorial organisation for its tenants are gathered from different villages. Indeed this is a further instance of the age-system's integrating power. [19]

* * *

Masai society is divided into two moieties, *en dalosh*, pl. *in dalosikin*, which seem to provide a basis for clan organisation. Every Masai is found in either of the two moieties. These are named after cattle, one: *orok kileng* — the black cattle, the other: *ondo mongi* — the red bulls. No exogamic restriction is attached to the moieties, but, they seem to have an influence on military organisation. "Whenever", writes HOLLIS, [20] "the representatives of the clans take part in a raid", they are organised according to their moiety, and the loot is divided "into two parts, one part for each of these main groups". [21] MERKER, states that the words *orok kileng* and *ondo mongi* are war-cries shouted by warriors according to their moiety. FOSBROOKE, [22] writes that the *orok kileng* "are regarded as the right hand of the tribe", and the *ondo mongi* as the "left hand". He adds also that this dual division is typical of the "true Masai".

At the present there is no apparent relationship between the moiety and the territorial system, but a few indications suggest that such a relationship existed in the past. Thus, in Laikokitok section, according to FOX [23] there is an equal number of "black

[19] MERKER, l. c., p. 62.
[20] BERNARDI, l. c., p. 235.
[21] HOLLIS, l. c., p. 280.
[22] See also MERKER, l. c., p. 97; FOX, *Further notes on the Masai of Kenya Colony*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 60, 1930, p. 457; HOBLEY, *Ethnology of A-Kamba and other East African tribes*, Cambridge, 1910, p. 121, who states that the moiety divisions were followed for cattle-branding purposes. Among the Turkana, the moieties or alternations were distinguished by different war songs or cries and tactical movements. See EARLY, *The Turkana of Kaloela District*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 43, 1937, pp. 144 s.
[23] FOSBROOKE, l. c., p. 43.
[24] FOX, l. c., p. 457.

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great political importance, in reply to which the elder indicated that such did not necessarily follow as 'we can always tell the lawan what order to give".

c) The sacrifice of a bull is then performed with great ceremonial. HOLLIS,[99] describes the contest in which the candidates compete in getting hold of a horn which was previously thrown into a fire.

With reference to this sacrifice a special officer is appointed. He is called *oloreugeyeu*; he has a ceremonial status and must prepare the hide-rings from the skin of the bull. He is also described by the author of *MS.* 48 as "the official charmmaker of the *moran*". His function, however, seems to be limited to *Unoto*.

Great emphasis is laid by WHITEHOUSE,[100] on what he calls "the fire-drilling ceremony", which as Fosbrooke also says, "must in fact be the *unoto*". The ceremony is described by Whitehouse in connection with the first erection of the segregated village of the initiates or *manyatta*.[101]

The fire is ceremonially lighted by the elders, and it must be carried into the new dwellings of the village. The next morning after this ceremony, the candidates who have become senior initiates are blessed, and prayers to the black God are offered for them.[102]

At the *unoto*, the *eunon* first, and then the other initiates, shave their hair. Pig-tails, however, are again fitted after the ceremony.

Some (four or five) months after the ceremony, when the senior

[99] HOLLIS, *l. c.*, pp. 300 sq.

[100] WHITEHOUSE, *l. c.*, p. 183.

[101] This circumstance supports HOBLEY's statement that one of the privileges demanded by the junior initiates is the building of their own segregated village, *l. c.*, pp. 33 sq.

[102] It is of some interest to reproduce here from WHITEHOUSE, the prayer recited by the elders on this occasion. It shows clearly how the senior initiates are about to enter the most important stage of their life as members of Masai society. This is the prayer: "Be trustworthy, Oh, return safely, O God. — Become ye ours and of God. — May the illness pass you by. — Wish those who hate us that they may find dry river on their journeys. — Lenana and Sufeit and Mbatian wish the safe return. — Grow up. Become possessed of wise heads. Become as great as the Kilimanjaro. — Be the fathers of my children, and bring them up well. Have many wives. — May God love you. May the red bull of the night guard them. May our age be the bravest". The expression of the first verse "return safely" probably refers to the raid which follows *unoto*. Lenana, Sufeit, Mbatian were prophets.

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561 624 when the *aigwenani loongishu pokin* was recognised as a general leader. [119]

Judicial activity is not a real part of the *aigwenani's* office. It [692] all depends on his personality and on how much he is favoured by his age-mates, who may ask him to arbitrate and settle their disputes. [120]

The election and the status of the *aunoni-otuno* as the ceremonial leader of the age-unit has already been described. A peculiar duty of the *aunoni's* office is the responsibility " for the smart turn-out of the *moran* (initiates) ". [121] MERKER, [122] and HOLLIS, [123] state that the *aunoni* was responsible to the prophet (*laibon*) for the organisation of raids. The anonymous author of *MS.* 48, p. 4, describes [977] him as the mascot of the unit when this was at war: " as long as he is alive they (the unit-members) cannot be beaten by the enemy... For this reason they take him on their raids ".

The relationship between the *aigwenani* and the *aunoni* is not clear. It seems certain that the latter has a more ceremonial and ritual character than the former.

The term of office for all these officers is limited to the existence of the age-unit as such; but they will always be distinguished and sought for their opinion.

561 621 701 The analysis of the unit's leaders does not offer a complete picture of the internal structure of the age-unit. This structure rests on two other institutions, namely the *manyatta*, which is the proper

[119] The *aigwenani* was not epected to take part in the actual fighting; he had to be in the rear to govern the action or, as FOSBROOKE, p. 38, puts it, " probably because the *laigwanan* wore the charm which had been obtained from the laibon, and its loss could not be risked ". At present, adds FOSBROOKE, p. 39, " the relations between senior *laigwanak* and their juniors are very lax. It is probable that this is due to the prohibition of raiding and consequent reduction of the occasions on which large-scale common efforts are required. In the old days when large groups of *moran* (initiates) came together for raids the senior *laigwanak* (sic.) must of necessity have asserted his position, and the others must have obeyed him, to ehsure the success of the venture ".

[120] " It appears ", writes FOSBROOKE, p. 38, " to be the privilege of the aggrieved party to select his judges... If a local *laigwanan* han a reputation for fairness and justice, he will be called even from a distance, but proceedings are not invalidated if no *laigwanan* is present ".

[302] [121] FOSBROOKE, p. 40. So, no initiate was supposed to cut off his pig-tail coiffure without the permission of the *aunoni*.

[122] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 122.

[123] HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 290 n. 1.

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residential place of the initiates, and the *sirit* which is a manifold grouping of comradeship.

The *manyatta* is the village where the initiates live in segregation from other people. Externally it does not differ from any ordinary village. Some authorities state that there is only one *manyatta* for each territorial section.[124] But FOX,[125] qualifying LEAKEY, states that this is only true for some special occasions as when all the initiates of one section come together to perform some special ceremonies, as, e. g., *Unoto*.

In the *manyatta* the initiates are assisted by their mothers who do the housework, and by some unitiated girls (*na sandja* or *ditto*)[126] who are there mostly for their sexual pleasure.[127] Uninitiated boys may also live in the *manyatta* for the menial works and for tending cattle.[128]

The groupings named *sirit*, pl. *isirit*, are formed, according to WHITEHOUSE,[129] at a meeting called by the *ingobir* when it is decided to build the *manyatta*. Membership of the *sirit* is a matter of free choise. An initiate is free to join any *sirit*, and he is free to change it for another soon after his first election. But if he does so when the *manyatta* has been formed, he "incurs the bitter resentment" of his *sirit*-mates, and he may even be fined for that.

As far as numbers go, WHITEHOUSE states that "groups of 5 (initiates) will go together to join the same company" (*sirit*).[130] MERKER, however, says that the inhabitants of a single *manyatta*

[124] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 82; LEAKEY, *l. c.*, p. 192; HINDE, *l. c.*, p. 91 writes that "every section has usually some three favourite districts, in each of which is a village, called 'mangatta'".

[125] FOX, *l. c.*, p. 451.

[126] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 83.

[127] Although the sexual life of the initiates with these girls is promiscous and free, full sexual intercourse is strongly condemned.

[128] According to MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 110, the initiates who belong to the smith trade usually do not share the village with the other initiates, but have their own villages and the girls who live with them are from families of the same trade. The smith initiates organize their own raids, but because they are few their booty is always small and they are easily deprived of it by other warriors.

[129] WHITEHOUSE, *l. c.*, p. 150.

[130] WHITEHOUSE described the *sirit* as based on the clan. The *MS*, 46, p. 8, states that "*emanyata* is inhabitated by the *morus* of one particular clan". It seems, however, that this is not a fixed principale, and certainly does not obtain with the Kisongo. *Cf.* FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 28.

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701 621 may be from 50 to 100; and the anonymous *MS.* 46, p. 8, records that in a *manyatta* there may be from 20 to 30 huts. The extension of the term is not clear. It may be applied alternatively to the whole group forming a *manyatta*, and to a subdivision of this. Thus, we find in *MS.* 48 that each *sirit* is said to have its own 'portion' of the *manyatta*. Similarly, Fox says that each *sirit* is commanded by a [624] captain (*il aigwenan loo sirit*), and that the *manyatta* is ruled by a special leader (*il aigwenan 'l ol poror* = the leader of the age-unis), who is at the same time the captain of his own sirit. [121]

The fact that the members of the *sirit* " as a rule quarrel pretty regularly with other sirit of their *mannyata* " is emphasised by *MS.* 48, p. 3. There is no indication that the internal organisation of the *manyata* is based on the seniority of its members. We may, however, assume quite safely that that is the main principle which regulates the relationship of the *manyatta's* of the two age-units existing at the same period. No special information is available on this point, but it is obvious that members of the two age-units have their own *manyatta's* and we also know that they unite in time of war, the juniors being trained by the seniors.

Seemingly the *sirit* division has a military function and serves to readily organise warriors for raids. MERKER, [122] however, applies the term to a special partnership which two age-mates contract [572] on their way to the battle-field. They pledge themselves to assist each other while fighting. They refer to each other as 'my companion' (*os sirit ai*), and if one of them falls, the other has to rescue his arms. [123] Ten or twelve such companions form a company.

527 561 The term *sirit* is further applied to the grouping of initiates who come together for a meat festival (*es sirit ol bul*). This group consists according to MERKER, [124] of five or six age-mates who go to a segregated place where they revel on ox-meat.

The meat festivals (*ol bul*, pl. *e buli*) are held once or twice a month;

[121] Very probably this leader of the *manyatta* is no other than the *aigwenan lol kuma orok*, as indicated. The two different expressions may be taken as describing two different functions exercised by the same person. *Aigwenan lol kuma orok* means lit. " the speaker with the black club ", and *'l aigwenani 'il ol poror*, " the speaker of the age-unit ".

[122] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 73.

[123] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 93: " Die Aufgabe der Gefahrten ist es, dem andern im Kampfe beizustehen und, wenn er fällt, seine Waffen in Sicherheit zu bringen ". The spirit as a military company is also mentioned by *MS* 48.

[124] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 84.

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system. Unfortunately, no such information is available. MERKER, [141] describes the actual action in detail but from a purely tactical or strategical point of view.

Special distinctions may be attained by the initiates either in military actions or in social life. Thus, if a warrior is outstanding in war for his courage and he " kills many savages " (HOLLIS (a) he is called " the bull ", *ol oingok*; if he is liberal and through the assistance of his father " frequently slaughters bullocks " for his comrades, he is called " the benefactor ", *N-gamini*. These distinctions as described by MERKER, [142] would suggest the existence of special offices with structural significance. He states that " the bulls " play a leading role (eine führende Rolle), and are the leaders in the fight (" Sie sind die Anführer im Kampf "); " the benefactors " retain a special position (eine besondere stellung). It seems, however, that there are no such institutionalised office as " the Bulls " and " the Benefactors "; they represent two different distinctions which may be attained by any of the initiates. This seems to be the opinion also of HOLLIS, [143] when he states that " the warriors are fond of the titles *'L-oingok* (the bulls) and *'N-gamini* (the generous people), for they may then wear bells or a bracelet called *il-torongen* ".

The internal structure of the age-unit, we may now conclude, is based on various principles, which give shape to different groupings.

The essential principle is the contemporaneity of initiation either during the same season in which the minimal age divisions are instituted, or during the same initiation period in which all the minimal divisions merge into a single age-unit.

A second principle is the residential principle, on which the *manyatta* and the *sirit* are organised. The *sirit ol bul*, or the grouping for the meat festival in special segregated huts also seems to be due to this principle.

The military principle seems to give a special military aspect to the *sirit* proper, as found in the *manyatta*, and, apparently, the same principle extends to the temporary capillary formation of special partnership between two fighting warriors.

Corresponding to these various groupings there are leaders, as mentioned above, who organise their age mates in the performance of the various ceremonies and functions of the age-unit. It is very

[141] MERKER, *l. c.*, pp. 93 ss.
[142] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 86.
[143] HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 296.

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561 701 riors to the exclusion of other classes above them. Their status is that of trainees in the case of junior initiates, and of full warriors in the case of senior initiates. Although it is not incorrect to state that they are in a condition of conscripts it is wrong to say that military activity is solely their privilege.

[621] Residential segregation is generally connected with the military activity of the initiates. MERKER states that the *manyat* were ordinarily situated in the strategic positions of the country. [146]

561 But there are other points to show that this segregation was not intended only for military purposes. Thus the initiates are not allowed to form their own family until they are elders. They are [062] also forbidden to eat meat "seen by women", and because their mothers and girls reside with them in their village, the initiates hold their meat festivals on their own in a secluded place. Similarly, they are not allowed to have milk unless they are in groups of two or three at least. [147]

It is difficult to see any relationship between these restrictions and the initiates' military activity. It seems evident that members of the age-units are still considered not sufficiently qualified to deal with cattle, and matters connected with them such as meat and milk, with complete freedom. Apparently, they do not have the [421] full possession of any cattle; the share of their mother's cattle to which they have right remains the property of their fathers until [721] they get married. And to the father goes the best part of the booty which they take from a raid. [148] Since cattle are the primary source [593] of wealth and food, we must conclude that the initiates are still in a state of dependence on their fathers socially and economically.

This conclusion is corroborated by the fact that an analogous dependence holds true of their political activity. On this they depend entirely on their *piron*-elders. [149]

[146] The statement is confirmed by HINDE's description *l. c.*, p. 91. He [361] says that the *manyat* were always built free from any kind of cover, "if possible on a plateau overlooking a good water supply", and "commanding many miles of plain".

[147] The initates have a right to ask everybody for milk which cannot be refused. Generally they address themselves to their *piron*-elders.

[148] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 30: "Das Verdienst der zu Kriegern herangewachsenen Söhne besteht in erbeuteten Vieh und fliesst in der Hauptsache zur Herde des Vaters".

[149] Other restrictions such as the prohibition against snuffing and drin- [554] king beer, both privileges of the elders, confirm the general status of inferiority of the initiates with relation to the elders.

where unarmed natives of the neighbouring tribes, whose duty or pleasure took them into the Masai Reserve, have been wantonly murdered, and the catalogue also includes numerous instances of thefts of stock from neighbouring farms and territories. An investigation of the record of each of these cases will show that in a small number only of incidents has the perpetrator of the crime been brought to book. The probability that the commission of a stock-theft or a murder can be performed by a Masai of the "Muran" class without the knowledge of his associates is so slight that it has been found necessary to accept the principle that the responsibility for the surrender of criminals traced to any particular area rests on all the members of the section inhabiting that area. This system is in vogue throughout all the native districts of the Protectorate and is generally employed with a fair measure of success, but a similar success does not attend its application to the Masai Reserve, and this reserve is, in fact, the area to which the great majority of impositions of fines under the Collective Punishments Ordinance, 1909, have been applied, the refusal of the Masai to assist in tracing the criminal rendering it necessary to utilize the provisions of the Ordinance to effect the punishment of the whole section involved. The blooding of a spear by the murder of an unprotected wanderer or the theft of stock guarded perhaps by children is a survival of the traditions which necessitated the "Muran" to prove their manhood during the period in the standing army or the "'L-Ayok" to prove their worth before circumcision. Such acts may not be regarded at the present day as valiant, but it seems that the criminal's associates have not yet come to look on them as reprehensible, and the Masai, on account of their wealth, do not possess the same dread of a collective fine as is felt by certain of the poorer tribes. Under any circumstances, the "Muran" offer no assistance in the tracking down of the criminal and the elders, though professing detective zeal, are powerless to intervene. The attitude of the section involved in such cases is one of surprise and listlessness—they never know anything—and the collective fine which may ensue has not hitherto had the result of discouraging the adoption of such an attitude.

G48* 674 G48* 674 679 561 681

Divisions.

It will generally be found that fines of this nature have been levied on Companies or "Sirits" of different clans, and, sometimes, on all the members of a clan or division. There is no case on record in which a collective punishment has been imposed on the Masai tribe as a whole. It is therefore necessary to refer shortly to the divisions into which the Masai, who are all of one tribe, are divided by their traditions and customs, and to note also the divisions into which they are divided in practice for the purposes of the administration of the reserve. A description of the traditional divisions of the Masai people is given in Mr. Hollis' Book on the Masai, pp. 260 and 261, but the names which are now in use to denote the divisions of the tribe within the reserve do not exclusively follow either the genealogical or the geographical divisions which are there set out. The Officer-in-Charge of the Masai reserve is endeavouring to confine the members of each division to certain areas set apart for them as locations, and this step will have the effect of reconciling the name given to a division with the locality in which it is found, thus tending to perpetuate a convenient form of nomenclature.

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Whatever may have been the original system on which these divisions were formed, it appears that there is a really marked clan feeling between them, and several incidents are recorded which disclose the presence of mutual distrust and strained relationship between the divisions, while interference by one division with another is keenly resented. These divisions form the basis of the tribal organisation of the Masai as it exists to-day and each division has its own Council of Elders. In the recently constituted "Masai Council," one elder, or more, has been chosen to represent each division and the Council so formed has been accepted as representative of the whole tribe. It will thus be seen that the division system presents an admirable method of dealing with the tribe, closely allied to the location system employed in other Native Reserves in the Protectorate, and has enabled unrest or crime to be so localized as to limit the liability for offences committed to certain definite sections of the Masai. Nevertheless, there is not sufficient difference in the behaviour or customs of the members of each

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Masai Council.

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9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

B. Junior Warriorhood. — circumcision — subdivisions of age — formation of Manyattas — relations between junior and senior warriors — promotion (Unoto).

881 304 561 As in the case of other ceremonies, it is not the details but the wider significance of the operation which claims our attention. The first most important point is that circumcision is the visible sign of admittance to full membership of the tribe, and that anyone desirous of becoming a "Masai" must be operated upon. After admittance there are many ceremonies of promotion but it is not essential that every member of the tribe should attend; it is essential, however, that he should be circumcised. Prior to circumcision no youth may have intercourse with a circumcised woman. This is a rule most strictly adhered to. Further, the moran, whose perquisite the mature girls are, deny the youths' access to their girls. Consequently circumcision and its attendant ceremonies admit the youths to a full sex life.

881 304 428 561 Hollis states that circumcision usually takes place between the ages of 13 and 17, though orphans and the children of poor parents frequently wait until they are twenty. My own observations would indicate that 16 or 17 is the lower limit, except in the case of youths whose fathers have died, who want to be in a position to inherit. The existence of this latter custom, circumcision to permit inheritance, is a good example of the meaning of the ceremony. If it has not been performed, the youth whose father dies cannot inherit; the cattle, wives, etc., must all be taken over by a paternal uncle as guardian pending the circumcision of the eldest male child. But if permission can be obtained for his circumcision a youth of ten or twelve can assume control of a boma, to the exclusion of all other relatives. In other words, as stated above, circumcision is the mark of full membership of the tribe.

561 When the initiation of a new age has been sanctioned circumcision takes place singly or in groups of two or three in the father's boma. The ceremony is usually performed during or at the end of the rains, a time of plenty amongst the Masai, and is suspended during the dry season. Four successive years are taken up with the circumcision of an age, and it is natural that those circumcised in one season possess a marked feeling of affinity towards one another. This shows itself in the possession of a group name for each batch, the same names being employed from generation to generation. They are, for the first batch, *il Changen opirr* or *il Kiperen*, followed by *il Paringotwalang*, *il Kirimbot* and finally *il Tareto*. The above refers to a right hand age; a left hand age, being fewer in number, possesses only the three last-mentioned divisions.

561 621 When all of one age have been circumcised they divide themselves into companies (*isirit*) each of which forms a warrior village or barracks (*emanyatta*). In Tanganyika the manyattas are usually formed on a territorial or sectional basis, e.g. Engasumet, Olmolog, Mferegi (areas) or Selei, Purku, etc. (sections), though Whitehouse describes a ceremony whereby the warriors, presumably of one area, divide themselves up, frequently on a clan basis.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

When blood-money is paid, it is less when the

payment is between clansmen. The logical extension of this principle is that when cattle are due from one member of the clan they may be taken from any of his clansmen. This is in fact the rule for payment of compensation amongst the Masai, though the offender and his near relatives naturally pay more. In the one case of blood money in which details were obtained, members of sub-clans other than that of the murderer contributed, and it is, therefore, safe to calculate that clan responsibility and cohesion applies to the whole clan in greater degree than it does to the sub-clans.

B. **Family matters — the boma system — the 'gates' — polygamy — marriage statistics — number of cattle to each gate — relations in law — travelling — adoption — economic.**

Briefly, the Masai live in groups of families, usually three, four or five together, in a village comprising a ring of huts, built immediately inside a circular fence, which thus forms an enclosure for the cattle. Such villages are usually built some two or three miles, frequently more, from the water which the cattle use, so that it is unusual to find more than two or three bomas in close proximity. Frequently a boma is a mile or more from its nearest neighbour. In the village each family possesses a separate gate, *engishome*, round which its members are grouped.

It is difficult to define a typical family or 'gate' unit. The ideal of a Masai elder is to possess half a dozen wives with many children, ranged on either side of his gate. As he marries, he places the first on the right of the gate, and the second on the left; when a third wife comes in she builds her hut immediately to the right of the gate, and the fourth immediately to the left, the earlier wives moving round accordingly. Each wife on arrival is given a number of cattle, which are hers to hold in trust for her children. She is also given, for tending, some of the unallocated cattle which the elder holds in reserve for future marriages; such cattle are termed *engishu e boo*. Those living to the right and the left of the gate form two distinct groups, *indaloishin*, and for the purpose of inheritance, should a wife on the left die without male issue, her cattle will be inherited by the senior male on the left of the gate; they may in no circumstances be taken by an heir on the right so long as there is a son on the left to inherit.

When the sons are circumcised, they nominally take over the guardianship of their mother, and of the cattle allocated to her. In the old days they would move off with her to the manyatta, warriors' village, but this is less frequent now. As they approach elderhood, however, in polygamous families the sons at times claim their patrimony and move off with their mothers, to form a separate gate in some other boma. More frequently they show little desire for this responsibility, and spend the greater part of their period of warriorhood wandering round the countryside, or living in meat-camps in the bush (*ol pul*). Once they become elders it is exceptional for a son to continue to live with his father, except when the latter has reached senility.

This is the theory of the gate system, but in practice it varies very considerably from the ideal. Polygamy (see below) is limited by the

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

place until the two senior groups move out together into the elders' class. The result of this arrangement is that no group which enters the warrior class as *muratogedienye* ever stays in the warrior class for as long as any *jangienobur* group.

Manyattas.—During their time of service in the warrior class the members of each age-group live in special villages built away from the main married men's villages. These villages are territorial, in that all the warriors of a single age-group in a single area live in one such village. Warriors of different age-groups never live in a single *manyatta*, as each *manyatta* is essentially the headquarters of the members of a single age-group in the warrior class in a given area. *Manyattas* are moved about from place to place when fresh grazing is necessary.

A *manyatta* consists of a number of huts each one of which is built, and lived in, by the mother (or another married woman relative) of one of the warriors of that *manyatta*. Normally each warrior has his own mother living in the *manyatta* and she is accompanied by her children, especially by some of the man's uninitiated sisters and half-sisters. The elder women are there to do the work of the *manyatta*, such as milking, fuel gathering, water drawing, etc., and in this they are assisted to a certain extent by the girls, but the latter are chiefly in the *manyattas* as companions and lovers for the warriors. No girl can live at a *manyatta* at all unless her brother or half-brother is a member of that *manyatta*, and each warrior living at a *manyatta* is expected to bring two or three of his sisters or half-sisters to live at the *manyatta*, and if possible some of these should be fairly grown up and others quite children who will grow up at the *manyatta*.

Sex Life.—During the warrior stage no man may have sexual intercourse with any initiated girl or with married women, but on the other hand, there exists in the *manyattas* a system of sex life which is decidedly interesting. The warriors, whenever they feel like it (which, as my informant pointed out, is "very, very often"), invite one of the girls (sisters of the other men in the *Manyatta*) to sleep with them. This is done by a method and formula which corresponds in some ways to the *umbani* of the Kikuyu peoples, but has certain marked differences.

A group of warriors at any time of the day will stand outside the village and call to any of the girls whom they see about, and when they come they say to them *tasiukiu*, and the girls then each select one of the men, and say "I choose so-and-so," not mentioning the man by his own name but as "the son of so-and-so." By so doing the girl binds herself to go and sleep with the man so chosen that night. It is a point of honour and etiquette that no girl so called upon to choose a man may refuse to do so unless she is (*a*) actually at a menstruation period at the time, or (*b*) has already promised herself to another man for that night, but she may make her choice from any of those men who were in the group that called to her.

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recovery from their pains. Mbatyan earned outstanding merit through the discovery of a protective vaccination against lung disease of cattle. According to the corresponding accounts of Zendeo and four old Masai, Mbatyan, several years before his death, had already prophesied the appearance of rinderpest that did not take place until after it and the subsequent subduing of the Masai by Europeans. In the outward appearance of this man nothing divulged his power. On a thin, average-sized figure sat an ugly head whose face was disfigured more particularly by the lack of one eye -- allegedly a birth defect. This latter circumstance led to the origin of the legend that the chief must always be one-eyed and that the father should destroy in childhood one eye of the son later following him. The face was even more repulsive because of a scanty, slightly gray full beard.

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That is, in contrast to the other men, neither the ol oiboni nor the el goiatek and el kiborón mentioned farther below may pluck out their beards, because they would lose their supernatural power through the removal of the beard hairs.

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The chief's village consists of a large number of kraals lying close together, several of which serve as the dwelling of the ol oiboni with his numerous wives. Mbatyan had about 200 wives; the still young Zendeo has only 20 of them. No strange man may enter these dwelling kraals of the chief and his wives or appear in their immediate vicinity. Close by are found the rest of the kraals, one of which is intended for conferences and receptions and in which a few older men close to the chief as helpers and advisers (el dunganak oirorié ol oiboni) live with their families, whereas the others are occupied by warriors who form the defense of the village and, on the marches of the chief, his bodyguard. In his last years of life, when Mbatyan was mentally disturbed, he often spent months on the open steppes in a small hut made of branches, around which the warriors accompanying him camped in a large circle. The ceremony in the chief's camp is very simple. One of the men wandering about idly in the village leads the newcomer into the conference kraal, where he waits for the chief. As soon as the latter appears, the stranger

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361 /26 cont./
417 are separated from one another by thorn barricades, and the huts
35 are often protected from damage by the cattle by means of thorny
824 branches placed around them.
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One distinguishes between kraals for the married (eŋg aŋ el
• 621 moruak) and such for the warriors (ol manjata). In the former live
361 the married men (ol moruo, el moruak) with their families, in the latter the warriors (ol morâni, el móran) with their mothers and the half-grown, uncircumcised girls /27/ (en dito, n doje). One sometimes also finds several kraals built together into one. The author found a village that consisted of five kraals built next to one another, three of which were El moruo kraals. A dense thorn-barricade extended around the entire kraal complex.

595 The married man on the average has five to six wives, wealthy
[556] men have in addition also a few secondary wives to whom they
[736] are not legally married. The secondary wives are made up of widows who may not marry again or who have not remarried and

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Merker phot.

III. 8. Small pen beside the hut.

/31 cont./

517 For the most part an atmosphere of dullness and boredom lies
535 over the kraal of the married (eŋg aṅ el moruak). Only on moon-
[533] lit evenings /32/ do the women amuse themselves with song, es-
pecially if a few warriors are there on a visit and give the impetus
for the gaiety. Women and warriors dance in separate groups.
For dancing the women station themselves in a row, move forward
a short distance, then make a "right turn" and, with short steps,
dance in a row back to the former place. The married men dance
only on festive occasions, but by themselves. The text of the
accompanying song naturally refers to the life prevailing here.

517 Otherwise quiet prevails in the family kraal after darkness has
521 set in; in good weather the people will sit for a while in front of
513 the huts, silently or softly conversing, and go to rest already at
8:00 o'clock or 8:30.

• 621 Even 12-14 years ago, before the Masai lost their huge
592 livestock-holdings in two great epidemics, each family had its
178 own kraal; now, on the other hand, almost everywhere several
233 families live together.
731

In the morning life begins around 4:00 o'clock, at which time
512 the women fetch the quite young calves from the compartments
[462] and take them to the cows, where they remain for the driving out
[233] to pasture. At daybreak the milking commences, for which all
[234] the women appear. After it is finished, breakfast, consisting of
264 fresh milk, is taken. Milk, soups, and thin porridge are drunk
[512] from gourd bottles; foods of greater consistency are put in the
[262] mouth with the fingers. Meat is partially cut up with a knife and
[415] completely torn into bits with the teeth. The hands are not washed
[412] before a meal. Smacking and belching while eating show good
breeding. Men and women eat apart and have their separate
vessels for eating and drinking. Those of the latter are shared by
the children. If the man wishes to eat in the hut, the woman has
to leave it beforehand.

[Warrior Kraal]

/83 cont./

XI.

000 Warrior kraal. -- Its inhabitants. -- Work. -- Foods of the warriors. -- Forest meals. -- Organization: the speaker, his badge and tasks; leaders; benefactors. -- Dueling. -- Daily life. -- Mealtimes. -- Dance and song. -- Wart permission for it, preparation, forest meal, marching off, march, camp, surgeon, spies. -- Formation of the war march for the attack. -- Battle. -- Booty. -- Captives. -- Distribution of the booty. -- Return of the warriors. -- Defense procedures. -- Attack on caravans. -- Concluding peace. -- March performance. -- Retirement from the warrior standing.

621 701 [361] [634] In each district one usually finds only one warrior kraal, which quarters all the warriors of this area. It lies in the spot from which the district can best be protected from enemy attacks. The warrior kraal (ol manjata or manjada) is not externally differentiated from other kraals by anything. It is inhabited by 50 to 100 warriors, sometimes almost double that number of young girls, the mothers and several younger brothers /84/ of the warriors. In every hut there is a large sleeping place for a warrior, and usually, at the other end of the hut, a small one for one of the mothers. The huts of those who are staying abroad for the time being are common property, and anyone who wants one takes it as quarters for the night by sticking his spear in the ground in front of it toward sundown. The others then often sleep three or four in a hut, as do the mothers.

[342] [513] [423]

621 701 462 [351] [356] The kraal is laid out by the old women, they build and maintain huts and thorn fence. Together with the girls they milk the cattle, clean the kraal every day in that they spread the cow dung, while the former sweep up and carry out the goat dung, fetch water, and keep the huts clean.

#233 [231] Their[1] livestock, described below, consist of herds of cattle, sheep, goats and donkeys. The Masai way of life revolves around the grazing and water requirements of their livestock.

621 561 614 177 178 Their principal units of social organization, as they affect this discussion, are sections, age grades, villages, and families. Clans have an important place in ethnological discussions and in some areas they determine matters such as water rights (Fosbrooke, 1948). Our impression is that throughout most of Western Masailand the concept of clans is of more ethnological than ecological interest. One basic reason for this is the effect of the Government administration in Western Masailand.

With the physical and social upheavels in both Kenya and Tanganyika from the 1880's through about 1920, the establishment of African District Councils (District-wide governing bodies), creation of the park and conservation unit, and various development projects, the clan and other social units have been greatly disrupted. Grant (1954, 1957) describes this effect in some detail for the Masai in the former boundaries of the Serengeti National Park.

[1] [i.e., the Masai.--Analyst]

561 He may marry when he is a senior warrior. When he becomes
593 an elder he may take his mother (if he wants) and her
591 share of the family cattle (for each wife has a given
[582] share of cattle) and move off to join others in a village
[422] (Fosbrooke, 1948).
[562]

561 The unmarried girls of the tribe live in the
836 warrior's manyattas and normally each moran has one
[583] favorite girl who becomes his concubine. They told us
that usually that girl became the warrior's first wife.

621 (c) Villages: Villages consist of a group
of families, often about five but sometimes more or
less. The villages are commonly called bomas or
361 (improperly) manyattas. Each boma consists of an outer
+233 circular thorn fence with a series of gates, one for
[417] each Masai elder. Within the gates there are a series of
huts. Often around the huts are small thorn fences
in which young livestock are kept. The cattle of the
village are normally herded into the space in the center
of the boma each night for protection from two and
four legged predators, and in the morning they are taken
back out to graze.

595 When a Masai marries, his first wife builds
on the right of his gate, his second on the left,